/220 cont./

• 778 Among most families the cross, an old symbol which I shall discuss later, is still clung to today.

415 In addition to calabashes the household equipment already
177 exhibits many modern pots, plates, glasses, and tin cans.

286 A few women still know how to weave ponchos and ham-
178 mocks out of cotton, the latter sometimes out of plant fibers.
177 But here, too, manufactured goods are already being bought.

III. Art and Music.

531 The Caiuás can certainly be designated as artistic Indians.
532 In former times they burned all kinds of designs into calabashes
178 and carved figures out of wood or modeled them out of wax. Now they neglect these occupations, for life has become harder and they must produce and sell their products in order to obtain money to cover their growing needs on the border of civilization. They like to draw, carve, and model, however, if they are paid
532 for it. I had many of them draw and am presenting the best
124 drawings on Plates II and III, while Plate I shows illustrations of wood carvings. -- In Farinha Seca and the surrounding villages Claudio was foremost as an artist. The animals a) and d) on Plate I, which are supposed to represent monkeys, came from him. Since Claudio is able to write numbers and his name, he engraved the year number 1955 on the side of the monkey a). The representations of the two figures actually resemble a monkey very little; the tail is missing, and the limbs are much too short, the body too heavy. Plate II shows drawings exclusively by Claudio. The wooden figure, Fig. 1, which is about three times as large as in the photograph, also came from him. A second figure carved by Claudio six years later shows the same expression and is very similar in every respect to the first one, except that it is somewhat cruder. -- Ciriaco carved the figures b), c), and e) and drew the upper figures on Plate III. Alexandro declared that he was unable to carve; the bottom row
[212] of drawings on Plate III came from him. Both Ciriaco and Alexandro are completely illiterate.

/224 cont./

532
776

Fig. 1. Wooden figure carved by Claudio; it seems to be the representation of a god, but was designated by the Catholic-baptized Claudio as "santo" (saint).

Fig. 2. Wooden figure with feather adornment, representing the god Curussú-Nheengatú.

[177]
←

/225/ IV. Religious Ideas, Myths, and Fables.

• 778 One often hears the conjecture that the Caiuás exhibit reminiscences of an earlier catechization, perhaps in Jesuit times. This surmise is based on the fact that the cross plays a role among the Caiuás. It is set up on almost every village plaza and often in front of the larger houses.

353
778 In many huts one sees an "altar," that is, a stand in which are stuck a number of crosses and decorated arrows and which is hung with beautiful gourd rattles, feather diadems, chest bands,

/225 cont./

353 and arm bands, while on and in front of the stand lie pipes and
778 carved figures. All these things are sacred: the Indian calls
[192] them "Nhande-Yara-Mbaé" (things of our lord). A small cross
778 is hung around children's necks to protect them from harm.
789

142
291
301
534
778
304 ←
291
534
576 →

Fig. 3. A Caiuás Indian with the adorned cross, the gourd rattle, and a large tembetá. On his head, a diadem. Otherwise he is in modern dress.

Fig. 4. Two men and a boy swing the gourd rattle in simple greeting.

778 Many adults also wear one. -- All this seems to be connected with Christianity. This is not the case, however.

The cross is an ancient symbol in the religion of the Caiuás.

539 The Indian Claudio, in the presence of his aged uncle and two
[124] other very old Indians, who supplemented his report, told me the following about the origin of things and the beginning of all that came into being:

[776] The supreme god of the universe is Nhande-Rú-Vussú (Our Great Father), whom the people also call Nhande-Yára (Our Lord).

/228 cont./

539 On the way Yasý lagged behind, for he had found a girl whom he married. -- The mother sent Cuarahý to fetch his brother. Cuarahý observed that this was a bad girl, freed his brother from these bonds, and led him away to the gates of heaven, where Nhande-Sý was already waiting for her sons.

The three desired admission into heaven, but Nhande-Rú-Vussú refused because the boys were not his. He became violently angry and scolded mother and children. They, however, did not cease begging. God finally took pity on his wife and let her into heaven, but not the boys. --

Cuarahý and Yasý returned to earth. In doing so, they met their father, Curussú-Nheengatú. He created a new heaven for his sons, where they can live throughout eternity. --

/229/ Cuarahý was henceforth called Nhanderykeý. Curussú-Nheengatú made a cross and placed rings around it. Every day he added a new ring until the earth was finished. -- He was assisted in this work by his wife, Ivoty (flower), who bore this name because she suckled her children with nectar instead of milk; for her breasts were flowers, not like the breasts of other women. She is also called Maitý.

• 778 826 The human body with outstretched arms is the image of the cross. --

776 The Caiuás picture Nhande-Rú-Vussú, Curussú-Nheengatú, and Nhanderykeý as adorned with feather diadem and feather belt, the gourd rattle in their hands and the lip-plug in their [778] lower lips. Curussú-Nheengatú, in addition, has a cross on his chest. -- Therefore these objects are sacred and are called "things of our lord." --- /Fig. 8 appears here./

776 539 829 191 Nhande-Rú-Vussú has a daughter who is called Tupa-Sý. She was abducted and married by Mbaé-Tara (lord of things). Many children issued from the marriage. Mbaé-Tara, also called Mbaé-Rú (father of things), is the creator of the nations. He created them in the following ways: He beat one of his sons so violently that his tongue became dislocated and he began to speak Portuguese; he became the ancestor of the Brazilians.

/230 cont./

776 dreadful abyss Anharepý. Cuarahý grew wild with rage and
539 killed the majority of the Anhá. The survivors yielded to him and became tame. -- With the help of the termites, who were still human beings, that is, "beginning of the termites," Cuarahý found the limbs and the crushed body of Yasý. He carried all the parts up out of the abyss and put the body together again. Then Yasý awoke to new life, and the brothers returned to heaven. -- The evil souls of the slain Anhá, however, wandered restlessly through the world until the most recent times. Now, however -- so say the Caiuás -- they have gone into an invention of the whites into the radio.

574
576
516
854
142
291
•778
534
177
178

Fig. 9. Modern greeting of a guest, whereby the man of the house, with his wife, steps toward the guest and uses the Portuguese greeting. A remnant of the old tradition appears in the adorned cross and the gourd rattle, which he holds in his hand.

539 Nhande-Rú-Vusú opens the gates of heaven for the good
776 and just souls; the rest must remain outside and return to earth,
775 where they roam about until an Anhá overpowers them and takes them to Anharepý.

/230 cont./

793 184 It is very interesting to compare, on the one hand, the myth material of the Caiuás that Schaden collected in another village and from other people with that reported to me by Claudio and the old people of Farinha Seco and Cerrito, and, on the other hand, the mythology of the Caiuás with that of the Apapocuva-Guarani, which Nimuendajú has passed on to us. -- [191] One could, of course, draw still other comparisons, for example, with the mythology of the Tembecuá, but also with mythologies that lie outside of any Guarani culture, such as that of the Dêtoana and Puruborá.

/231/

V. Ceremonies Still Practiced Today.

178 574 576 [184] 535 [534] [178] A few remnants of the old ceremonies have been preserved, especially in Panambí and Tehycué. Thus, the solemn greeting of exalted guests still takes place, in connection with which the men dance with gourd rattles in front of the cross without moving from the spot, and the women pound the ground with their tacumbú. At the same time, the greeting formulas are recited, adapted to the number and importance of the guests. --

[534] Besides this official greeting, the simple welcome has been preserved, during which the men and boys of the house receiving the guest swing the gourd rattle. -- The greeting that the man of the house, together with his wife, prepares for the guest is already under modern influence. /Fig. 10 appears here./ In connection with it he holds an adorned cross and the gourd rattle in his hand, but without making use of it. He borrows the greeting from the Portuguese language.

177 178 574 576 [192]

178 796 533 798 Only a few of the religious ceremonies have been retained. In honor of Nhanderykey his song is still sung, usually in front of the cross, accompanied by the music of the rattle and the tacumbú. The song in the original text runs

000

/231 cont./

796
516
291
778
534

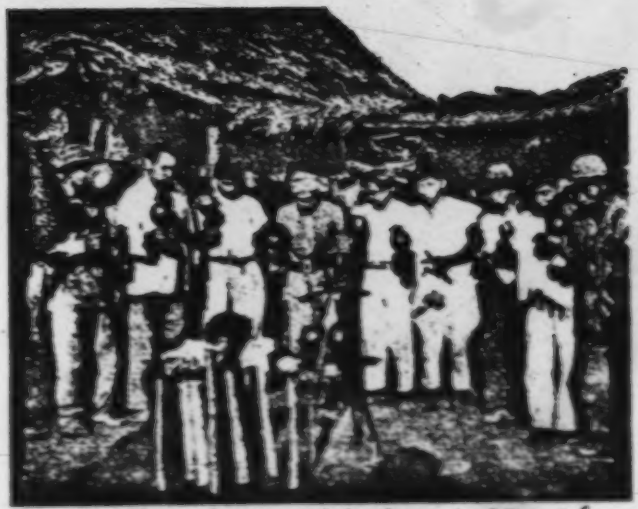


Fig. 10. The gathering and the festival of Yacairá in front of the chief's house. In the foreground the two stands with the cross and the calabash, around it the semicircle of men, singing and swinging the gourd rattles. One of them is holding a cross in his hand.

796
533
539
782
783

The song in the original text runs:

"Hangatú, ĺe rykeý, ĺe retá moãtyro, ĺe rykeý,
Hangatú, ĺe rykeý, ĺe curusú moãtyro, ĺe rykeý,
Hangatú, ĺe rykeý, ĺe yeguaka moãtyro, ĺe rykeý,
Hangatú, ĺe rykeý, ĺe curusú warópyte moãtyro, ĺe rykeý,
Hangatú, ĺe rykeý, ĺe curusú warúkambý moãtyro, ĺe rykeý,
Hangatú, ĺe rykeý, ĺe curusú wapétya moãtyro, ĺe rykeý,
Hangatú, ĺe rykeý, ĺe curusú warópyta moãtyro, ĺe rykeý,
Hangatú, ĺe rykeý, se curusú kuĺuahí moãtyro, ĺe rykeý."

1: Hanke--24 O-5 (ca. 1955) 1956 Sm4 Guarani Sm4

/232 cont./

796
539
533

"Hoĕri yahá, hoĕri yahá, ĭe resá.
Nhanderykeý mbaraká ĭe resá,
Nhanderykeý ha dĭyroký ĭe resá,
Nhanderykeý yeguaka ĭe resá,
Nhanderykeý kuakuahá ĭe resá,
Nhanderykeý tembetá ĭe resá."

Translation:

"Let us go, let us go, he has seen me.
Our elder brother, with the rattle he saw me,
Our elder brother saw me dance,
Our elder brother, with the diadem he saw me,
Our elder brother, with the abdominal belt he saw me,
Our elder brother, with the lip-plug he saw me."

This says that Nhanderykeý has seen the Caiuás paying him respect with rattle, diadem, abdominal belt, and lip-plug, as custom demands, dancing in honor of the god. Here too, of course, the sun god is meant, the one who sees everything and in whose honor human beings adorn themselves and dance. --

796
[1176]
[178]

The festival of Yacairá, whose original significance as the god of night, darkness, and death the Caiuás have probably forgotten in part, goes somewhat differently. They attribute to him the weather and fertility. A certain variety of maize, called

[622]

saporó, is dedicated to him. He is venerated /233/ nowadays in connection with a gathering called by the chief. During it he combines other aims with the religious celebration. The inhabitants of all the villages appear in front of the house of the foremost chief. The priests are clad with the badges of their office,

[793]
[292]
[534]

the other men carry crosses and gourd rattles, the women their tacumbú. Two stands are erected in front of the house: Against

[178]

one is propped a large, adorned cross, and a few rattles are laid beside it. On the other stand rests a magnificent calabash displayed with the finest cotton fabric and hung with fringe. Inside

[237]

it is a second, smaller calabash encircled with bands and feather

/35 cont./

342 The great house, typical construction of many tribes of the Tupí-Guaraní group, is one of the most imposing elements of the material culture of the Kayová. They call it tapýiguasú (large [192] hut) or óga-djekutú, "driven-in house" (kutú, to drive in /Port. fincar, cutucar/), or, in Portuguese "casa beira-chão" /close-to-the-ground house/. Besides the quadrangular base, its essential characteristics are twot in the first place, the covering itself, reaching down to the ground, forms the façades /Port. frontões/; [192] secondly, the "line" (ridge) does not have any support. The general shape of the hut is that of an overturned canoe with the ribs /Port. oitões; cf. outões, side walls/ in ogive form. Let us have a brief description of the óga-djekutú of Paí Chiquinho, religious chief of the village of Panambi. Length, about 18 meters; breadth, [824] 8 meters. Façades of ribs /Port. oitões/ covered with sapé /a . Brazilian herb/. The house thus consists of four faces of covering, which close all the sides, the ridge extending in a north-south direction. Three entrances: one to the east, another to the north, and a third to the south. In the front, that is, on the east, extends a large patio, as a dance ground, of perhaps 500 square meters. Inside: four large transverse beams, two to the right and two to the left of the main entrance, resting on the longitudinal beams, against which are supported the laths of the wall-covering driven • [778] into the ground. On the side opposite the main entrance, an altar," a wooden framework, in front of which part of the religious dances are performed.

The óga-djekutú is a solid construction that resists the incle- [824] ment weather for many years. No nail is to be found in it; everything is tied with cipo.

341 When the original habitation of the Kayová great-family yields 178 its place to a certain number of houses for elementary families, it not only suffers a reduction in size, but also quite profound changes in its architectural structure, approximating in various directions the types of Brazilian and Paraguayan rural construction. [177] The acculturation in the different spheres of material culture could not fail to accompany and in part even precede the correlated changes in the non-material sphere.

/40 cont./

292 Aside from the txumbé, there is also a belt for exclusively
293 ritual use, the klákuahá, richly decorated with ipotý, flowers
[531] of toucan feathers woven into the cloth itself; it may even be worn over the txumbé; it is given only one turn around the belly, and, to fasten it, the terminal fringes are tied in front.

291 The ponchito is a small poncho of very tightly woven cotton.
[126] In 1950 I acquired from Paí Vitaliano a specimen with a width varying between 50 and 55 centimeters; the average length, 125 centimeters; /41/ central opening for the head, 30 centimeters.
[286] Along the narrow ends, fringes (ipotý) 10 centimeters long, each one of two twisted threads of the warp itself, there are similar fringes in the central part of the cloth, distributed in four bundles,
[283] one to the right and one to the left of each one of the ends of the central opening. The cloth is of thread of white cotton, except for two very narrow longitudinal bands of maroon color that run through it
291 from top to bottom. Onto each shoulder is sewed a circular piece
533 of toucan skin with yellow and orange feathers; on the chest, four
237 flowers of feathers trimmed with threads adorned with feathers, and four more on the back. One of the flowers of the front part, of yel-
[192] low and orange toucan (tũkã) feathers and red canindé (kanindé) feathers, is called kurundúá; nandúá are the other flowers of toucan feathers, while the ornaments on the shoulders are called
291 flemombáéhá. According to Paí Vitaliano, the latter are "imita-
[114] tion of the things of Ñandedjára"; I have not obtained a translation of the different names, all "given by Ñandedjára himself." Paí Vitaliano's ponchito is no longer complete; it lacks, on the chest and on the back, an elongated cotton ornament, without feathers,
292 called iporavõhagué. The care with which the ponchito is adorned
178 and the words with which the doctor-sorcerer refers to the symbolism
708 of the ornaments of plumes, relating them to the world of the gods, leaves no shadow of doubt about the religious significance of the piece. Although it has the shape of a common poncho in a smaller size, the ponchito, at least nowadays, is not common clothing, but has a ritual function. I only saw it used by doctor-sorcerers. Paí Chiquinho always put it on, by way of greeting, when I visited him

/41 cont./

292 178 778 in his spacious and magnificent dwelling at Panambi. Paĩ Vitaliano, who wore it in religious ceremonies, had the appearance of a priest in vestments, particularly because he always wore it together with other pieces of the traditional Kayová garb. Anyone who saw the old paĩ dressed for religious functions could not fail to notice the great similarity with the Catholic priest: to the embroidered chasuble of the latter corresponds the ponchito adorned with fringes and flowers of feathers. Might one not also have there a reminiscence of Jesuit times?

2: Schaden--44 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/41 cont./

292 In more than one village I saw that the crosses used by the
• 178 doctor-sorcerers during the religious dances are clothed in the ponchito, a fact for which I have not found a satisfactory explana-
[177] tion. Perhaps there is influence from the stole of Paraguay and many regions of rural Brazil, common on the crosses of the Kayová and Ñandéva graves of southern Mato Grosso. Or is the idea of a personification of the cross linked to this ponchito?

291 /42/ But, aside from the ponchito, the Kayová are also familiar with the common poncho. The handsome red woolen
[192] poncho of industrial manufacture -- the pytĩ or puitĩ of the rural
[435] populations of Paraguay and even of southern Mato Grosso -- is one of the great aspirations of every Kayová, but inaccessible for his purse (it costs about four hundred cruzeiros). In the village of
[192] Dourados there were two Kayová who possessed a poncho made from sheep wool (ovetxá tagpĩ), both made by women of the tribe. The larger one measures two meters long and 90 centimeters wide, being provided with fringes on the narrow sides; it is made of coarse threads of grayish wool and on each side has two dark bands very close to each other, which give it a very distinc-
[428] tive touch. The poncho belonged to the chief of the post, who had inherited it from his father. The second specimen is much smaller; it is barely 110 centimeters in length, with an average width of about 75 centimeters; it is also of grayish wool, having in the central part a dark stripe of about 20 centimeters. The Indians told me that in both ponchos the light wool as well as the
[171] dark is of natural color. Woolen ponchos also occur among the Chaco Indians.

A complementary piece of male Kayová garb, although of much
[192] more recent origin, is the aparato (corruption of "alpargata"), a
[177] sandal of leather with rubber soles, which the men make from automobile tires. A good present for a Kayová is a pair of soles of this material, for the aparato, in general use among the yerba-maté workers of the region, is very suitable for working with heavy burdens on the damp and slippery ground of the yerbales. It
[482] is to be noted that the yerba-maté worker carries on his shoulders
[147] up to thirty Paraguayan arrobas or three-hundred kilos of

249 /58/

Among the plants cultivated in the villages of southern Mato Grosso one should mention, even though in passing, the yrukú or urucú, a plant that is not native in those lands. The Kayová 386 consider urucú paint sacred, saying that its "abuse" brings on 822 supernatural sanctions. All the ceremonial objects of the Kayová, including the cross (kurusú) used by the men and the rhythm stick [778] (takuá) of the women, the little bench (apyká), and the altar (yvyrá), are rubbed with urucú, after scraping the surface of the pieces a little in order to set the color better. On the occasion of [302] ceremonies or for receiving a visit, the Kayová likes to cover his 386 face with a layer of urucú. The paint is used either fresh or cooked. In the latter case, the seeds are boiled with a little water, without any other ingredient; the seeds are taken out, and the mass is boiled until it acquires the consistency of a paste, a form in which the paint does not harden and is kept for an un- [184] limited time. The technique of the Ñandéva, according to the description that I obtained, is the same.

824 Aside from the selection of plants for therapeutical use, which 222 are very numerous, and others for industrial benefits, the Guaraní explores in an extensive, but not intensive manner the vegetable resources of his environment with reference to alimentation.

222 Thus, gathering is of secondary importance as a source of [221] food. Among the exceptions, one can mention the gathering of the guavira /Campomanesia/ by the Kayová in the open country of southern Mato Grosso, an activity that every year leads entire bands of Indians to wander about for weeks in the months of November and December through the open countryside where they camp under the open sky. But the interest in the guavira today is already linked [177] to acculturation, for its fruit is a source of money: the guavira, [43] which is wild and abundant, is sold to aguardiente and vinegar factories.

/122 cont./

782 then played on the radio. Learning of the event, the Indians
424 considered it a profanation, and one of them later decisively
114 refused to teach me his prayers, saying: "I do not want you to
[123] put them on the radio" (13).

13. /From p. 151 of the original source./ It should be remembered, by the way, that this makes the work of the anthropologist much more difficult among the faithful Ñandéva, when it is a matter of studying their religion. Considered sacred, the knowledge should not be transmitted to anyone whose moral behavior and whose religious mentality are not well known. My informants at Jacarei confessed to me that they were afraid of being killed by Ñandedjára, if he found out that they had revealed to me what they knew. "Ñandedjára txedjuká," said Hilário. Among the Mbüá of Rio Branco, on the other hand, I was told that there was the danger of strangers abusing the transmitted knowledge "to do harm" (black magic?) to the Indians.

[115] [784] [796] [829]

782 It is not easy to find out what the nature of the porahêi is,
778 in the opinion of the Guaraní. Sometimes one has the impression
774 that it is a matter /123/ of some quasi material, something like an object, that one can or cannot possess. Thinking of his prayer, the Indian obviously proceeds to a kind of reification, which is noted, for instance, when in the appeal he talks about "taking away" a prayer from someone (when "possessed"). On the other hand, it is, so to speak, personified into a kind of spirit or soul that is incarnated in the individual, to enrich his inner life and manifest
[192] itself through him. In this connection, it should once more be remembered that "soul" is translated ñeẽ or ayvũ, that is, language
782 or human speech. Some refer to the "force" of the prayer, mean-
778 ing, apparently, the magic power that is inherent in it and,
621

/123 cont./

782 moreover, the greater or lesser intensity of the religious senti-
•778 ment developed by it; a prayer may "come" more or less
621 "strongly," which partly depends, as I was told in Araribá, on the religious behavior of the fellow tribesmen. Here there is a profound sentiment of religious participation in the conjunction of individuals who consider themselves a social unit: if, in the group, there is a one person or another who, reacting perhaps to the mockery and criticism of the "nationals," no longer takes the ceremonies and beliefs of his ancestors very seriously, this attitude of his will be reflected in the greater or lesser efficiency of the prayers and, therefore, of the religious ceremonies per-
782 formed in the village. The porahêi is also identified, at least
778 among the Kayová, with the "path" of the soul to the sky.
[775] Finally, there are many representations bound up with the porahêi,
[787] which the individual and the group need in order to enter into communication with the Beyond.

782 The individual porahêi, as the Ñandéva and Mbüá know it,
787 is a gift of the gods or spirits and is transmitted by way of a dream. The ñanderú Fernando of Jacareí maintained to me that
[776] Ñanderú reveals his will to him in dreams and teaches him prayers, transmitting them either personally or by way of Koarahy (the sun), whom he sometimes commands. Those prayers that constitute an integral part of the religious feasts directed by the doctor-sorcerers are more or less known to the whole group. Regarding the individual ones, they are sometimes received already at puberty, sometimes only in maturity. I heard it said repeatedly
[184] in a categorical manner among the Ñandéva that there are no two persons with the same prayer, which also seems to hold for
[424] the Mbüá. But a person may have a certain number of prayers,
[554] an important factor of social distinction. It is among the Ñandéva
[184] that the individual prayers probably occupy a place of major importance. In general, the wife and children accompany the husband's prayer, but there are also women with their own prayer. At night, when the head of the family "has information," that is, "some good dream," he rises, takes the /124/ mbaraká, and begins to sing, "helped" by his wife, who handles the takuá.

2: Schaden--159 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/124 cont./

782 The ñanderú is distinguished from the others principally
778 by the quantity of prayers of which he is the bearer or owner (14).
424
622
736
[171]

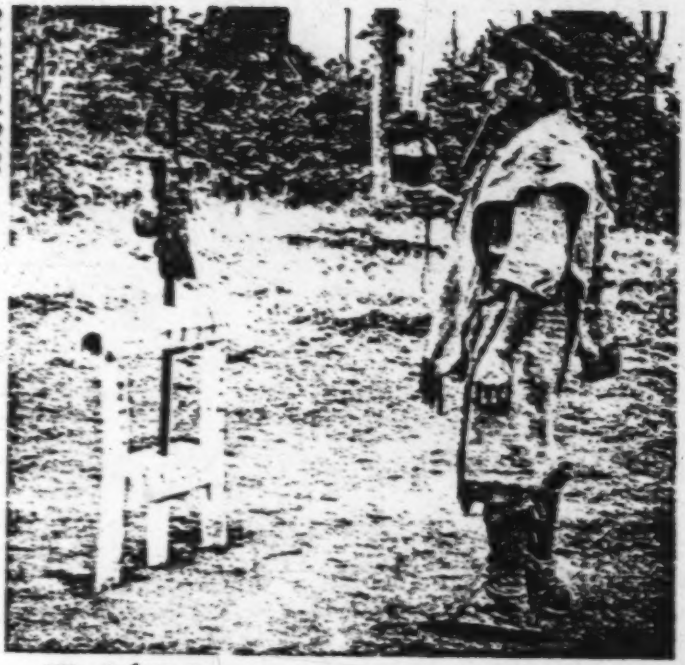
14. /From p. 151 of the original source./ There is an interesting analogy between the Guaraní ñanderú and the pazé of the Tenetehára. While the former is the more powerful the greater the number of prayers that he has at his disposal in order to put himself in contact with the supernatural world, the latter grows in importance and power with the number of evil spirits, carriers of sicknesses, which he is able to "call," in order to be possessed by them and then drive them away. Wagley and Galvão, 1949, pp. 109-110.

Each of them can have, as we have seen, greater or lesser "force," susceptible of being intensified or not, according to the attitudes of one's fellows and the behavior and precautions of the one who prays himself. In order for his cures to be effective -- "in order
[262] not to forget everything," in the words of the Indian Zizi of
[115] Bananal --, the ñanderú should nourish himself exclusively with
[756] "light" food and, above all, avoid the meat of game.

78 I have participated at various times in the prayers and dances
756 directed by ñanderú Miguel, who brought a group of Mbüá in a
622 long pilgrimage from Paraguay to Itariri, on the Atlantic Ocean.
123 During the porái (name of the prayer in the Mbüá dialect), the religious chief seemed entirely transfigured and claimed to have a
[976] direct understanding with Ñanderú Tenondé, the supreme deity, who informed him of everything that would come to pass on earth. One night he interrupted the prayer and the tiring dance at a certain point in order to tell me that he just received information that on the following day the rains that had continued for some time would end.

2: Schaden--168 E-4, 5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

142
622
756
292
302
778



XII. Paí Vitaliano, one of the religious chiefs of the village of Dourados, with ceremonial clothing and implements.

2: Schaden--185 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/141 cont./

776 João Samuel has special sympathy for São Gonçalo, a
796 music-playing and fun-loving saint. He told me that sometimes
789 the Guaraní perform the dance of São Gençalo. When it rains a
782 great deal during a puxirão /co-operative work party/, a "promise"
159 is made in order for him to stop the rain. "The first tune is his, the guitar player has to sing his tune first, the saint is in the middle of the table, between two flowers. An old man and an old woman come, dancing, to kiss the saint three times. Then his tune ends. He is then taken away and put in his place on the little altar. And the fun goes on." At a puxirão in Bananal, when they made the "promise," São Gonçalo performed the miracle of stopping the rain.

159 Although he actually professes the tribal religion, João
533 Samuel prides himself in being a "tocador de viola" guitar player,
776 as his father was; and "to be a guitar player" is to venerate the
771 saints. On a certain occasion a "believer," the son of Da. Lâmpada, appeared in João Samuel's house; he was angry about the images and told him to "stop worshiping these saints of clay, of paper, and of cardboard." Before such an insinuation, which seemed offensive to him, João Samuel invoked the fact that his father had already been a guitar player and "already had some prayers of his own in that religion."

771 /142/ The Guaraní, particularly in the case of old individ-
• 708 uals, does not always refer without inhibitions to the Christian or
177 pseudo-Christian representations and practices adopted in more
159 or less recent times. In Poýdjú's house there was an image of São Bosco, if I am not mistaken, but it was said to be São José; in the room of the married granddaughter there was a small oratory with a crucifix and other images of saints. The images were all provided with a djeatsaá made of sewing thread and in front of them were put small coins to prevent illness. Poýdjú did not like it when reference was made to these things and even seemed somewhat ashamed of them. And for the granddaughter the devotional value, if it existed (as perhaps could be inferred from the djeatsaá), was in any case insignificant in comparison to the magical function of the crucifix and the images.

/146 cont./

I shall sum up here some of Pascoal's explanations /in the following passage the words in quotation marks are translated from Spanish/: I am a curer and pray a little. I take away the "spirit" of the sickness with a mbaraká prayer, just as a civilized doctor takes it away by cutting the belly. But I also give herb tea. I have my "angel" that teaches me the things of the future when I pray. The djeatsaá is my protection; I only have to put it on and nothing will happen to me. In the prayer I use the mbaraká and the djeatsaá; I do not use the cross, "because I do not need it." I do not act like the Kayová, who also pray during the day: I only pray at night. My prayers do not have any words; they do not speak of Ñandedjára, Kurusú, etc.; I simply sing. I cannot pray with the Kayová, for I cannot combine my voice with theirs; they pray "higher" (with a stronger voice). -- And, changing the subject, in response to questions that I put to him: The umbilical cord of the children is cut with scissors or with takuárembó. It is done by the female midwife or male midwife, a relative or not, who then becomes compadre or comadre: "It is a great bond for the Kayová." The one who gives the name is the "sabedor" /the one who knows/, to whom the stars revealed it. He makes cedar-bark water, dips his hand in the water, sprinkles the child in the shape of a cross, and then "tells the name." The baptism is done in the house of the "sabedor," in the presence of the father and mother, "after forty days," while the godfather props up the child. It must be a "fine" ceremony, done with great care, on a date set long beforehand, "in order to secure the spirit, its little angel." The "sabedor" makes a large candle of vorá (swarm of wild bees), which is lighted for four consecutive nights in which there is praying for the child; on the last of the four days is the baptism, during which the "sabedor" finds the name. Paí Kuará is the one who sends the "little angel," the spirit, of the child. -- When someone dies, the "sabedor" prays, "in order to save the soul," which goes to Hyapúguasú. If he does not pray for the soul, it "becomes lost, stays in the dark."

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

This is also a fair statement of the beliefs of the Cayuá of the present time, and we may therefore safely consider it as representing the past of this people's religion. A third class of supernaturals existed, made up of the remote "sky god" culture heroes and creator beings. The earthly demons almost universally had peculiar individual traits, such as one leg, double feet (that is, legs with feet and toes extending both forward and back), red hair (!), dwarf or giant size, and similar features. No Cayuá who knew his demonology would be likely to mistake the particular spirit he might at some time be dealing with. Furthermore, the demons usually had special individual interests in life. One sustained himself entirely upon bananas (*sic!*), another on honey, and usually each lived in a particular type of place, some in the water, some in the *cerrado*, some in the *taquara* groves, some among the *pindó* palms. Some, at least, were associated as owners or protectors of certain plants or animals, and one might incur their wrath by treating the plant or animal in question in a careless or disrespectful manner. Almost any of these beings was capable of doing harm to men, although certain ones were more aggressive in this enterprise than others. A few demons may have been passive as far as man was concerned, and even fewer may occasionally have helped man by teaching him the use of plants or the knowledge of crafts. By and large, however, these beings were to be avoided, or placated if avoidance were not possible. Probably all of them had individual names.

The ghost spirits were not individually named but simply referred to generically as *angwéra*. They abounded and were omnipresent—or at least were capable of turning up practically anywhere at any time. Many of the commonest *angwéra* were ghosts of departed Cayuá—if, indeed, this was not the ultimate origin of them all. Measures were usually taken upon interment to see that the ghost of the deceased human did not return or stay in the neighborhood of his erstwhile house or village. Houses of the deceased were probably abandoned and burned. The use of fire seems closely connected with the Cayuá idea of exorcising ghosts. A fire was kindled by the grave of the newly deceased; fires were kept alive at night in the houses of the Cayuá (and are still) with the thought that this would keep lurking ghosts away. The night was especially fearful, and few would needlessly venture out alone. Great fear of possible harm caused by these spirits appears to have been characteristic of many of the Tupi-Guarani, and even whites were occasionally appealed to for help.[78] There is good reason to believe that the same was largely true of the Cayuá.

There is no direct indication that the ancient Cayuá had idols or other similar objects of worship. The Jesuits in their writings complained of the Guarani who sometimes apparently had a special structure separate from their village where they kept the bones of a former powerful *paí*, displayed

[78] Nimuendajú was once called upon by some Apapocuva-Guarani to use his rifle against a particularly malevolent and persistent ghost.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

with much decoration of feathers. This the missionaries said was used idolatrously.[77] Such practices may also have been characteristic of the Cayuá. A cult of the dead is suggested among some Tupi-Guarani peoples.

The present Cayuá use of groups of what appear to be Christian crosses may be but a slightly Christianized modification of a similar aboriginal usage. Métraux speaks (Tupinambá) of "small posts sometimes provided with a cross bar from which painted images were suspended."[78] The Cayuá were similar to other Tupi-Guarani also in their magico-religious connotations for the gourd rattle or *mbarahá*. This instrument was apparently always used in ceremonies and employed by the shaman (*pa'i*) in curing rituals. It was conceived of as having a spirit within, whose "voice" was the sound of the rattle itself. The spirit-possessed rattle may have been only that one which had been consecrated by the *pa'i*. Ceremonial rattles were accorded a special place in a sort of rack made for them and kept in the *tapúi* of the *pa'i*. (Perhaps each extended family had at least one shaman?) Since the Cayuá also had female shamans, it is likely that the *mbarahá* was sometimes used by these women, but otherwise the instrument was restricted to male use. On a basis of comparison and reconstruction, ritual observances of the aboriginal Cayuá differed from those of the present primarily in being somewhat more elaborate.

The Cayuá, like other Tupi-Guarani, had the story of the twin culture heroes. The culture heroes and the various celestial beings, as recounted in the almost universally similar myths about them, were the makers of many of the conditions of the world, and they also gave some of the most important inventions, such as agriculture, to the people. But the culture heroes and their relatives of the Cayuá pantheon, sun, moon, thunder, and the like, were a rather distant order of beings who intervened little in current human affairs compared to the supernaturals who lived in the forest, the water, and the *taquara* groves. The interest and activity of the sky-gods in men's lives were largely matters of the remote past. As far as the Cayuá are concerned, one of the probable influences of Christianity was to center attention on these celestial and usually distant beings. Thus it may be that the first fruits ceremony in which the new crops are "baptized" was not aboriginally dedicated to any of the sky pantheon of *Nandejára*[79] as at present. Certain seeds and also the first fruits were ceremonially treated by the Cayuá, however, as they are now.

SHAMANISM

Shamans (*pa'i*) have already been mentioned in connection with political organization, and at least certain of them did have considerable power in the

[77] Hernández, 1913, 1: 80-81; Dobrizhoffer, 1822, 2: 284.

[78] Métraux, "The Tupinambá," p. 34.

[79] Literally, "Our Lord," apparently a missionary inculcated concept, at least in its present sense. Among the Cayuá it is also a generic term for the entire pantheon of celestial supernaturals. It seems to be ambiguous to at least some Cayuá, being at the same time singular and collective.

5: Métraux E-4 (no date] 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

or covered with a basketry sheath in the center. A small bulge at each end made of wrapped bark strips prevents the fiber bowstring from slipping. Archers wear wrist guards of human hair or of cotton (*Chiripá*). The main types of arrowheads found in the tropical area are used by the *Caingud:* Lanceolate taquara heads; tapering sticks, plain or barbed on one or both sides; and conical wooden plugs for stunning birds.

The war arrows of the ancient *Guaraní* were often tipped with human bones.

The arrow shafts are made either of the native tacuati reed (*Merostachys argyroneura*) or more commonly of the imported tacuapi, or caña de Castilla (*Arundo donax*).

The feathering is of the Eastern Brazilian, or arched type. The pellet-bow is widely used by young *Caingud* boys to shoot birds or small rodents.[8] The missiles are small clay pellets.

Caingud clubs are either swordlike with cutting edges or plain sticks with a square cross section and a basketry sheath around the handle. Sometimes they taper into a point. The *Guaraní* were acquainted with the sling but found little use for it in their forested habitat.

The *Guaraní* warriors whom the Spaniards fought in the 16th century carried shields, often decorated with feathers. This defensive weapon has not been reported since the 17th century.

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

Among the ancient *Guaraní*, the social unit was probably the large extended patrilineal family—perhaps the sib. Sometimes as many as 60 families lived under the same roof. Each community had a chief, but the actual power was often in the hands of a shaman. Many of the great *Guaraní* leaders who resisted the Spaniards in the 17th century were shamans endowed with divine prestige. Some ancient chiefs extended their influence over a fairly wide area. A general council of chiefs and adult men decided community and district affairs and elected war chiefs who commanded obedience during expeditions.

All *Apapocuva-Guaraní* chiefs, for at least a hundred years, have been shamans who have reached the highest rank within their profession. Like the ancient chiefs, they have been credited with supernatural power and with miracles performed on behalf of their people.

A *Guaraní* chief was succeeded by his eldest son unless there was some stronger member of the family. However, an eloquent man distinguished in warfare might become chief. Persons dissatisfied with their headman might secede and start a new settlement under another leader. Chiefs of *Caingud* communities in Paraguay have a Spanish title and carry a stick as symbol of their office. Fifty years ago, a few villages were administered as in Jesuit times, by a cacique mayor and cacique menor, a sargento, and

[8] For a good description of the Guaraní pellet-bow, see Azara, 1809, 2:65.

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

games with rubber balls. These ball games were still popular in some Jesuit missions until the 18th century. 178 526

Today the *Caingué* play with a maize-leaf shuttlecock, which they throw at each other and try to keep in the air as long as possible.

Musical instruments.—Among the ancient *Guaraní* and among their modern descendants, the gourd rattle and the stamping tube are the most sacred religious instruments. In the *Apapocuva-Guaraní* tribe, rattles are handled only by men. Their "voice," i.e., their sound, is believed to be endowed with sacred power. Shamans are capable of shaking rattles according the most varied rhythmic patterns. The stamping tube is a bamboo section closed at one end, trimmed with feathers, and engraved with checkerboard designs. It is an instrument reserved to women who pound it against the ground to produce a dull thud which marks the cadence of their dances. 178 534 [562] [778] [756] [573] [562]

The flutes of the ancient *Guaraní* were often made of the long bones of their slain enemies. There is no information in our sources about their other musical instruments. [727]

There are few types of musical instruments among modern *Caingué*. The *Paĩ* and *Chiripá* have musical bows which they play either with their fingers or with a fiddle bow. The transverse flute with six stops and a blowhole was adopted by *Mbyá* men in post-Columbian times. A curious type of panpipe used only by women has been reported among modern *Caingué*. It consists of five bamboo tubes of different sizes which are not bound together, but are simply held with both hands. Spanish drums and guitars are now supplanting native musical instruments. [184]

Narcotics.—Yerba maté, or "Paraguay tea," though now characteristic of Paraguay and used daily by the *Guaraní*, who sip it through a reed from a small gourd, is scarcely mentioned in the old literature. The aboriginal *Guaraní* seem to have regarded it as a magic herb taken only by shamans. Modern *Caingué* collect maté in the forest and prepare it in their villages, drying the leaves for a whole night on a platform over a fire. 272 178 [222]

Tobacco was smoked in the form of cigars or in pipes. Clay pipes have been found archeologically, and the *Caingué* still used them not long ago. Like some *Chiripuano* pipes, those of the *Caingué* had their bowls ornamented with a sort of crest. 276 [178] [710] [532]

Like the *Tupinamba* and other Brazilian tribes, the *Guaraní* celebrated all the main events of life with drinking bouts: The return of a successful hunting or fishing expedition, harvest, and the execution of a prisoner. Their favorite beverage (kaguiní) was prepared mainly with maize but also with sweet potatoes and more rarely with manioc. Fermentation was activated by the addition of chewed corn or leaves of caa-tory (*Physurus* sp.). Modern *Caingué* prepare mead, which may be quite strong. 178 527 [174] 176 273

A shaman is a man who owns a great many magic chants, which he uses for the common good of his people. He must also be capable of leading a ceremonial dance, of playing the rattle gourd in the different modes, and of performing the rites befitting certain circumstances. The main test of his skill is offered by the harvest dance, which can be successfully organized only by full-fledged shamans. By his "voltes" and jumps, the shaman endeavors to make his body "light." He must also have frequent dreams, because they give him superior knowledge and insight into the future.

The ancient *Guaraní* and even many modern groups assign disease to the intrusion of an object into the body. The *Apapocuva* visualize the source of the illness as an inviaible substance that the shaman sees after he has chanted for several hours. The treatment's aim is to extract that substance and to endow the patient with magic power.

Legends and historical traditions both attest the extraordinary prestige enjoyed by some shamans of old who were leaders of their tribes. After receiving their inspiration, these great men retired into the wilderness, where they lived on celestial food. By constant dancing some *Apapocuva-Guaraní* shamans gradually subjugated their animal soul, strengthening their ayvucué, or peaceful soul, until they could fly toward the heavenly Land-Without-Evil.

Among ancient *Guaraní* great medicine men worked miracles by their chants. With their saliva they caused death. They were strong enough to drag a whole tribe across a large river. They claimed absolute control of all natural phenomena, including stars. After their death, their bones, kept as relics in luxurious hammocks hung in special huts, were worshiped and consulted as oracles. Ordinary shamans added to their prestige by sleight of hand.

Shamans are not only responsible for the religious life, but also interfere in the administration of justice. Whenever a succession of misfortunes is imputed to witchcraft, the shaman unmasks the sorcerer, who is savagely killed. The shamans' political power derives, naturally, from their prestige and from the fear which they inspire. Usually, witchcraft is blamed on a neighboring tribe. Sorcerers kill their victims by practicing witchcraft on their exuviae.

MYTHOLOGY

The high-sounding names of the main characters in the *Apapocuva-Guaraní* mythology tinge it with a solemnity quite foreign to the versions of the same motifs collected elsewhere.

The story of the creation is told in impressive terms. At the beginning there was darkness, and the Eternal Bats fought in the night. Our Great Father found himself and created the earth, which he propped on the Eternal Cross. With him was a companion, Our-Father-Who-Knows-Everything. Our Great Father made a woman, Our Mother, whom he

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

174 797 tlements. A preliminary perusal of the existing literature has produced nothing very definite as to whether or not the Cayuá may have come directly within the orbit of Jesuit influence. Von Koenigswald,[10] it is true, affirms that the Jesuits made several attempts to "civilize" the Cayuá, none of which was successful. No evidence to this effect has been encountered by the writer. Occasionally, in the documents of the Jesuits, one comes upon the mention of Cayuá or of groups which may have been Cayuá.[11]

We might expect contact of some sort to have been established between the missionaries and these Indians. Jesuit missions lay close to what must have been the east and northeast frontiers of the Cayuá territory of that day. More recent reports of the Cayuá, as we have seen, indicate that their 19th century movements, at least, took them well within what had been the Jesuit "sphere of influence."

• [778] Indirect influence of the Jesuits upon the Cayuá may possibly be indicated in the possession by the latter of certain religious paraphernalia among which the cross figures prominently. A closer study of Cayuá religion and of Jesuit missions may turn up other more convincing evidence. But the cross or even such other evidence as may later turn up may not necessarily argue for immediate contact, either in time or space, between missionaries and Cayuá. Such elements of possible Jesuit origin could quite conceivably have been transferred to the Cayuá by other Indian groups, Guarani-speaking or not, who had come directly under the influence of the Jesuits. And this transmission of cultural elements could have occured at more or less the same period as that of the Jesuit missions or at some later time. It is also more than probable, even if the Cayuá came into contact with Jesuit missionaries, that only some groups were thus influenced.

10 *Op. cit.*

[114] 11 No doubt a great deal of difficulty arises from the variety of names attached to the tribes by different writers or with reference to different places, as well as from the fact that different peoples speaking Guaraní languages were often (as by the Brazilian layman today) lumped together as "Guaranís". Thus, possibly, Cayuá relations with the Jesuits may have been obscured by their having been called in various instances simply "Guaraní" or "Northern Guaraní". Gay (Cónego João Pedro, *História da República Jesuítica do Paraguay*, Imprensa Nacional, Rio de Janeiro, 1exi) says in a footnote, p. 7 of the appendix, that the "Guaraní" are called in Paraguay by the 13 different names which he lists, as well as by many others. Among the listed names is Caiaguá (= Cayuá).

1:Dobrizhoffer M-S (ca. 1760) 1822
814 Abipon 814

cessive days with mourning and drinking, and thence transported to their graves.

Should there be any European who makes little account of sepulture, saying with Virgil,

Cælo tegitur qui non habet urnam,

that man is of a very different way of thinking from the Abipones, who esteem it the greatest misfortune to be left to rot in the open air. Hence amongst them, persons inflamed with the desire of revenge contemptuously cast away the carcasses of their enemies, making fifes and trumpets of their bones, and using their skulls for cups. On the other hand, they honourably inter the smallest bone of one of their friends, paying it every possible mark of respect. We have known savage Guaranies, who, in all their migrations, carried with them little boxes containing the relics of their jugglers, and in them, as in holy preservatives, placed all their hopes. These monuments of savage superstition were at length taken away by the missionaries, and burnt by them in the presence of all. The Guaranies newly brought from the woods to our colonies had no stronger inducement to embrace the Catholic religion than the seeing their countrymen buried by us with honourable ceremonies and a solemn chaunt. But now, after I have discoursed with prolixity on the diseases,